

10. FOREIGN MINISTER SAIGEMITSU'S  
SPEECH IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

June 17, 1943.

Yesterday in his address before the Imperial Diet Premier Tojo made it clear that it is the immutable policy of Japan to free Asia permanently from the age-old fetters of Anglo-Saxon domination and to restore Asiatic peoples to their proper and rightful places. Furthermore, emphasizing the necessity of constructing and defending Greater East Asia, the Premier referred to the strong conviction which is now rapidly growing among its one billion inhabitants that without a successful conclusion of this war there can be no liberation of Asiatic peoples and that without the construction of Greater East Asia there can be no hope and happiness for them. The Premier also pointed out that now is the time for this country to respond to the seething desire of these peoples and to fulfill their aspirations, reciprocating their spontaneous cooperation. Concrete proposals regarding each nation was set forth in order to restore Asiatic peoples to their rightful places -- namely the establishment of a structure of full-hearted neighbourly co-operation among Asiatic nations on the basis of equality and reciprocity, by according complete independence to some member nations and allowing others participation in the administration of their respective lands. The guiding principle is to inaugurate a new era in our part of the world along these lines and to defend the peace and stability of the region against external threats.

This policy of enabling all component countries of East Asia to fulfill their long cherished aspirations and to bring about a new regime of spontaneous collaboration on the basis of equality and reciprocity has already been demonstrated in concrete forms in the so-called "New Policy" of our Government toward China, which has served to open a new vista in the history of the association of Japan and China by ushering in close and cordial relations as truly good neighbors. The inauguration of this new regime means nothing but the carrying out of this national program thoroughly and extending it in spirit and practice to the whole of Greater East Asia and the consolidation thereby of the unity of the one billion peoples who live in this vast area.

Such a policy is, needless to say, in accordance with the lofty ideal on which our Empire is founded, and in that sense it is, fundamentally speaking, not a new policy. The principle of neighbourliness and co-operation is one so fair and just that it can be applied to all parts of the world. Since the foundation of our Empire our nation has cherished the very same spirit. Therefore, ours is an old policy. Yet in a sense, it is new. Why is it new? Let us examine it from the angle of international relations:

What sort of policy did the United States, Great Britain and the Netherlands pursue in the past especially toward the Orient? As you know, "divide and rule" has always been the keynote of their crafty policy. By persistently pursuing this policy, Britain has exploited India ruthlessly, while in Europe she has consistently played the game of so-called balance of power. In the Orient, both Britain and America resorted to the tactics of pitting China against Japan and exercised meticulous cares not to allow any Oriental nation to grow strong. They would not tolerate the emergence of a Great Power in Asia. Their policy, whatever may be its outward forms, has been basically a policy of destruction, designed to keep the Asiatic countries in constant and continuous turmoil and to permit the intruders to fish in troubled waters. It is the policy of Japan to do away, once and for all, with this evil factor of disturbance and exploitation and to eliminate disunity and division with a view to creating a new era of concord and collaboration throughout the region of greater East Asia.

Unless we take steps to remove such evils, political and economic, there is no way of reconstructing Asia. On various occasions in the past we have attempted to put into practice the lofty principle of our Empire, but we have always encountered multitudes of obstacles which severely hampered our efforts. The circumstances that have blocked our path until today cannot, of course, be ascribed to any single factor. But broadly speaking, the principal factor has been the intrusion of Anglo-Saxon Powers. We have succeeded at last in eliminating malignant influences of destructions and disturbances by dint of fierce struggles — namely by our sweeping victory in the war.

Today the nations of East Asia are no longer in the status of Anglo-Saxon colonies. The policy of Britain and America has always been characterised by closed door, monopoly, and exploitation. Wherever their policy penetrated it entailed an economic war. They have publicly outlawed war and earnestly pledged not to resort to war as an instrument of national policy. Nevertheless, they have attempted to bring other nations into submission by openly waging economic wars. of freezing of assets imposed on Japan may be cited as one of the glaring examples.

Turning to Europe, we see there too an instructive spectacle. It is the Axis Powers who enjoy today the position of the advocate of the cause of those smaller states which have been mercilessly treated by Britain and America. Curiously enough, the latter now advocating the hegemony of Great Powers, viz, Britain, America and the Soviets seems to have cast to winds the interests of the smaller nations, for whose defense ostensibly they provoked the present war.



It is beyond dispute that Japan's consistent policy toward East Asia is aimed at emancipation and construction as contrasted with the policy of destruction and exploitation which Anglo-Saxon countries relentlessly pursued in the past. This policy of Japan is of a great significance to all peoples and nations -- especially it has a profound bearing upon the future of the peoples of East Asia.

I am convinced that the whole world will readily understand and appreciate this policy and that even our enemies will come to understand and admit the justice of our cause. In this sense, we must carry out this great policy and fight this war out. There lies the only way for Japan to live as a great world Power. We are in fact, pursuing vigorously such a fair and just policy in order to construct Greater East Asia, and thereby to contribute powerfully toward the peace of the whole world.

IPS NO. 2245

C E R T I F I C A T E

Statement of Source and Authenticity

I, HAYASHI KAORU hereby certify that I am officially connected with the Japanese Government in the following capacity: Chief of the Archives Section, Japanese Foreign Office and that as such official I have custody of the document hereto attached consisting of one Book, dated 10, Dec., 1943, and described as follows: OFFICIAL ANNOUNCEMENTS CONCERNING FOREIGN RELATIONS . . . . . ( January - June 1943 )

I further certify that the attached record and document is an official document of the Japanese Government, and that it is part of the official archives and files of the following named ministry or department (specifying also the file number or citation, if any; or any other official designation of the regular location of the document in the archives or files): Foreign Ministry

Signed at Tokyo on this  
20th day of Nov. 1947.

/s/ K. Hayashi (SEAL)  
Signature of Official

Witness: K. Uraby

Chief, Archives Section  
Official Capacity

Statement of Official Procurement

I, JOHNSON F. MUNROE, hereby certify that I am associated with the General Headquarters of the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers, and that the above certification was obtained by me from the above signed official of the Japanese Government in the conduct of my official business.

Signed at Tokyo on this  
20th day of November, 1947

/s/ Johnson F. Munroe  
NAME

Witness: /s/ Henry Shimojima

Investigator, IPS  
Official Capacity



EXHIBIT No.

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昭和十八年度(一月—六月)

政府公表集

——對外關係——

情報局

よりの扱

一六

第六十二回帝國議會衆議院マデ

委員會ニ於ケル重光外務大臣答辭(六月十日)

御質問ニ御答ヘスルト共ニ幾分御質問ニ觸ル全般ノ  
問題ニ付テ御話申上ケタイト思ヒマス。今御話ノ通りニ  
大東亞ニ於ケル建設國策ノ具體化カ發表サシマシテ譯テ  
アリマシテ、是ハ洵ニ重大ナコトデ、此ノ莫ハ全然御同感  
ニアリマス。昨日東條總理大臣ハ其ノ演説ニ於テ、大東亞  
ヲ米英等ノ多ク手ノ桎梏カラ永久ニ解放シテ、其ノ本  
然ノ姿ニ還ラシメントスルカ、帝國ノ動ノ大方針デ  
アルト云フコトヲ宣明サシテ、更ニ大東亞ヲ建設シテ防衛  
スル必要ニ觸レラレテ、今日大東亞地域ニ於ケル十億ノ  
民衆ハ、大東亞戦争ノ完遂ナラシメ大東亞ノ解放ナレ、大  
東亞ノ建設ナラシメ大東亞民衆ノ福祉ナレトスル確信  
カ澎湃トシテ起ツテ来テ居ルノテ、是等ノ民衆ノ要望  
ニ応レ、其ノ精神ト協カトニ酬ニル時機ハ今テアル、而シ  
テ其ノ本然ノ姿ニ還ラシムル、其ノ莫ニ付テ具體案ナラ  
述ヘラレタ譯テアリマス。即チ今申サレル通り各國ニ對  
シテハ或ハ完全ナル独立ヲ與ヘ、或ハ広汎ナル政治共與ヲ  
與ヘテ其ノ要望ヲ達セシメ、相互ノ間ニ於キマシテハ平  
等互惠ノ關係ニ於テ善隣ノ協力關係ヲ樹立セシトス  
ル趣旨アリマス。斯ノ如クニシテ東亞ヲ建設シ、又東亞ノ

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安定平和ヲ攪亂スルモ自リ之ヲ防禦スルニ云フ見地ニ  
立テ談テアリマス。大東亞地域民族國家ニ多ク、愛望  
ヲ實現セシメテ、平等互恵ノ立場ニ立ツテ互ニ協力  
スルヤ立ハシムルト云フコトハ、既ニ所謂對支新政策  
ノ上ニ於テ著々ト具現ヲ致シテ參ゾテ居ルデアリマス。  
是カ新ニ日支ノ關係ニ新生命ヲ開キ、眞ニ  
日支兩國ノ間ニ善隣ノ關係ヲ樹立致シツアル  
談デアリマス。帝國ノ政策ト致シテハ、此ノ方針ヲ  
飽クテ徹底セシメ、大東亞地域全部ニ其ノ精神  
ヲ及ボシテ、以テ十億民衆、結集ヲ圖ルト云フ  
コトカ、即チ大東亞ノ眞ノ建設デアルデアリマス。  
此ノ政策ハ言フニモナク、我カ肇國以來ノ精神テ  
アル、眞ノ誠ノ道デアルデアリマス。左稱ノ談テ今更  
新ニイ問題テハ、善隣ト協力ノ精神ハ、正界  
ニ其ノ精神ヲ布イテ、少シモ誤、ナイ問題デアリマ  
ス。是カ帝國肇國以來ノ精神デアル、甚ク古イモ、  
デアル併シ斯稱ニ古クシテ且又非常ニ新ニイモノテ  
アリマス。何故ニ左稱ニ新ニイカト云フコトニ付、少シク  
國際關係カラ述ヘテ見タイト考ヘス。  
御承知、通リ、米英及ヒオランダ等ノ政策ハ、歴史的  
ニ何ウ云フ政策デアツカ。特ニ東洋ニ對シテハト云フ  
政策ヲ執ツテ居ツカ、之ヲ政治的ニ見ミルト云フト、  
彼等ノ執ツテ居ル政策ハ、常ニ分割ヲ治メルト云フ



政策ヲ執ツテ居ツタリテアリマス。イギリス、インドニ於  
 ケル政策カ如何ニ彼等ヲ分離セシメテサウシテ其ノ上  
 ニ居ツテ治メテ居ツタカ、イギリスカ、ヨーロッパ大陸  
 ニ對シテ如何ニ勢力均衡ノ政策ヲ執ツテ居ツタカ、而  
 シテ又特ニ東洋ニ於テ、如何ニ彼等ノ政策カ日支  
 ヲ分離シテ、互ニ相爭フヤウニ仕向ケテ、東洋ニ於テ  
 決シテソノ大キナ國ヲ作ルト云フコト、ナイヤウニ仕向  
 ケテ来タカ、斯様ナ彼等ノ政治上ノ方面ニ於ケル  
 政策ハ、其ノ施設カ如何ニテラウトモ、其ノ根本ニ  
 於テ互ヒニ其ノ土地ヲ常ニ攪乱シテ、其ノ上ニ立  
 ツテ自分ノ政治上ノ野バヲ満足サセルト云フコトハ、根  
 本ニ於テハ破壊政策テアリマス。斯様ナ破壊政  
 策ヲ排除シテ、其ノ分子ヲ一掃シテ、大東亞連  
 設ニカウ持ツテ行カウト云フカ、帝國ノ大方針  
 テアル訳テアリマス。又彼等ハ經濟方面ニ於テト  
 ウ云フ政策ヲ執ツテ居ツタカ、特ニ植民地政策ニ  
 於テトウ云フ政策ヲ執ツテ居ツタカ、彼等ハ植民  
 地ヲ占領シテ、之ヲ閉鎖シテ独占シテ利益ヲ搾取  
 スルト云フコトカ彼等ノ政策テアリタ。凡ソ帝國ノ唱  
 ヘテ居ツタ資源ノ開放、又互惠共助ト云フヤウナカ  
 法トハ、根本的ニ違ツテ居ツタ訳テアリマス。彼等  
 ノ對支政策カトウ云フモノテアリタカ、彼等ノ對印政  
 策カトウ云フモノテアリタカ、對「アジア」政策カトウ云  
 フモノテアリタカト云フコトハ、經濟方面カラ極メテ明

瞭ニ分リマス。斯様ニ政治上、經濟上、魔、手ヲ除  
 ナケレハ建設ノ道ハ闊ケナイノデアリマス。過去ニ於テ帝  
 國ト致シマシテハ、我カ肇國以來、大精神ヲ具体化  
 スル爲ニ幾多ノ試ミタノデアリマスルカ。常ニ種々ノ故障  
 ニ遭ビ。今日アテハツキリト其ノ精神ヲ出スコトカ。困難  
 ナ事情ニアツタト云フノハトラ云フ譯デアルカ。色々事  
 情ハアリマス。必スモ一本調子ニ言ヘマセヌ。併ニ大局  
 カラ見テミルニ、此ノ米英其、他ノ勢力カ東洋ニ入  
 ツテ来テ、根柢ニ於テ破壞的、考ヘ攪亂的ノ作用  
 ヲ起シテ居ルト云フコトハ、是ハ争ハレナイコトデアリマス。  
 此ノ魔、手カ今固帝國、非常ナル努力、否闘争ニ  
 依ツテ漸次除カレタノデアリマス。即チ我カ陸海空  
 軍、直接ノ力ニ依ツテ、此ノ魔、手カ除カレタノデアリ  
 ス。茲ニ建設ノ道ヲ開ケテ来タ。此ノ大東亞ノ建設ト  
 云フハ、肇國以來、誠ノ精神カ発露スル譯デアリ  
 マスルカ。之ヲ護ルモ、ハ帝國、武力デアルデアリマス。  
 今後モ此ノ魔、手、續ク限リ飽クマテ大東亞ノ防  
 禦ヲヤラナケレハナラヌ。此ノ防禦ハ大東亞全域、民族各  
 國家カ協同シテ、自發的ニ進ニテ行フト云フコトニナツ  
 テ来ツハアルデアリマス。實ニ今申ス通り「アジア」解  
 放ト云フハ、我カ國策デアリマシテ、英米其、他、搾取  
 カラ大東亞ヲ解放スルコトカナケレハ「アジア」安定シナイ  
 デアリマス。又大東亞建設ト云フコトハ、出来ナイデアリ





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ミテ生キ世ヲ進ム、進ム、直リ此、道ヲアヲラト考ヘル、テアリ又。  
斯様ト立派ナニ進ム、道ニエツヤウニ政策ヲ進メル、テアリ又。  
斯様ニミテ「アミ」ノ、發明ヲ齎シ、大東西、立派ト建設ヲ齎  
シ而シテ、長ク永クニ世界、平和、大キキ基礎ニトルコトアリ  
ト信ミテ疑ハナイ次第ヲアリ又。



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「ワシントン」文書局 第 三 四 五 号  
国際検察部 第三四五号  
明 書

典據及公正に關して證明

余林證、余が上記資格に於て、即ち日本国外務省文書課長として、日本政府との關係に在るモノナルコト、並に該官吏トシテ余が茲に添附セラルル一冊ヨリ成ル、千九百四十二年ノ昭和十八年ノ十一月十日附、下記題名、即ち外交に關する公式聲明（千九百四十二年ノ六月に在ル）、文書、保管に在るモノナルコトヲ茲に證明ス。

余、更に添附、記録及文書が日本政府ノ公文書ナルコト、並に右ガ下記名稱ノ省又ハ部局、公式書類及綴、一部ナルコトヲ證明ス。（右ノ添附書類又引用、其他公文書類又綴ニ於ケル該文書、成規所在、公式名稱ヲモ特記ス。） 外 務 省

千九百四十二年ノ昭和二十二年ノ十一月二十日

東京ニ於テ署名

該官吏署名欄

右ノ言、公的資格

證人

林 證 簽 名 HAYASHI 署名  
文書課長

ケイ 浦 部 署名 KRABE 署名

公式に關する證明

余、ジョージ・エズモンド、余が聯合國軍最高指揮官總司令部ニ關係アルモノナルコト、並に上記題名、證明、余が公務上、日本政府ノ上記署名官吏ヨリ入手シタルモノナルコトヲ茲に證明ス。

千九百四十七年ノ昭和二十二年ノ十一月二十日

東京ニ於テ署名

氏 名 欄

右ノ言、公的資格

證人

ジョージ・エズモンド  
CORSON 或 MURROE 署名  
國際檢察部 調査官

ヘリー、シモジマ HARRY SHIMOJIMA 署名